IMPARTIAL REMARKS,

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To MR. Mc. KENNA's

ME E MOIRE. Vani Santa

BY A FARMER.

VENIENTI OCCURRITE MORBO.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM JONES, No. 26, COLLEGE-GREEN, OPPOSITE THE COLLEGE.

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To his Excellency the MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD,

AN Irish farmer interested for the Prosperity of his native Country, naturally turns his eyes to that interposition, by which he now enjoys his farm and his repose, that interposition which has arrested the progress of Discord, and with a ray of Divine attribute justice tempered with Mercy, restored peace to this distracted land. What your sentiments of an UNION may be, I know not; but sure I am they are the sentiments of a good Heart. But why should I presume to address Lord Cornwallis, I answer in the grateful Language of the Mantuan Shepherd,

Ille meas errare boves ut cernis & ipfum Ludere quæ vellem calamo permifit agrefti.

That you may live many years to hear the BLESSINGS of the IRISH NATION, and long continue to enjoy the happiness of making millions happy, is the sincere wish of

THE FARMER.

To his December of Authorities

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not better your severes third Will the Progressy of his points Country, ma-Thorstoppeth sale or easy and amor Menus eld hop ener eld a rejus won of doily vetreport, that sinterpolition which has air reflect the brogette of Decord, and with a Borogmor correct attidition suividi 30 year with means, reflered on age to the diff. cacon version. What your featurents of Smith and took world of rom WOHELF or I am'they are the featiments of a good Bur why thould I prefume to .TRARU Lord Cornwaces I miner in the giverty) Language of the Manucian Shap hove.

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That, you may live many your to bear the sense, your chosenses of the IRISH NATION, and long community to crear the happings of making millions happy, is the fineered with

REMARKS, &c.

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THE writer of the above Pamphlet professes himself a zealous friend to the happiness of Ireland; but in prosecuting his subject he forgets the avowed object of his pamphlet; and with some talents, and much artisice he dwells upon the arguments for an Union only.

He displays with great learning the Union of the Sabines and Romans; the Union between the Seven United Provinces; the Union between the confederated States of America; the Union between two Merchants, viz: a poor and a rich Merchant: The only fault in the comparison of

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which Unions with the Union proposed between England and Ireland, is, that they do not at all bear upon the subject.

It was unlucky that in speaking of the admired Union between the American States, he forgot to mention how much blood and treasure they expended, and how difficult and tedious a ftruggle they maintained for the purpose of breaking their Union with England. How often were the petitions and humble respectful complaints of the Americans laid before the British Parliament, but alas! how were they received? with contempt and infult. Should the Legislature of Ireland be annihilated, will the English Ministry be more attentive to the Interests of Ireland than they were to those of America? will the groans and complaints of Ireland be more tenderly respected? But we will have Representatives in the British Parliament, Yes, perhaps as One to Seven or Eight, and of these the majority in the Interests of the Minister. The great Burke, a powerful advocate for Conciliation with America, laughed at the propofal of having American Representatives in the British Parliament, as nugatory, ridiculous and inadequate: and yet, if Ireland furrenders her Independence by adopting an Union, her only refources will be, fuch a ridiculous, and inadequate Representation. he hour a service administrative com univers

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The writer of the above pamphlet does not forget that the Seven United Provinces were united to Spain, and that their confederacy was formed to destroy that Union, and to support themselves against its revival.

If any analogy can be drawn from the Situation of America and the Seven United Provinces, it will obviously spring from this Consideration. America was united to England; the Seven United Provinces to Spain; as to Situation they were separate Countries: so are Britain and Ireland. America and the Seven United Provinces, sorely feeling the pressure of the Connexion, after a tedious and bloody conslict, broke their Union, an Union certainly not unlike that, which the above Author so warmly recommends between England and Ireland,

The Instance of the Sabines and Romans is so pitiful as scarcely to deserve notice.

Two barbarous and petty districts in the neighbourhood of each other, in order to put an end to their mutual depredations, agree to join their Governments; two Districts not as large as two Counties in Ireland. Our Author tells us that the Sabines were impelled to this Union by the impossibility of maintaining themselves against the Romans; and that by the Union they laid the soundation—of what—was it of Sabine greatness -no-they laid the foundation of Roman greatness. There is something so playful in this Gentleman's insult upon our understanding, that we can scarcely be angry with him.

He next tells us a flory of two Merchants, namely, a rich Merchant, and a poor Merchant, so far as the resemblance is intended to shew the opulence of Britain and the poverty of Ireland, I admit the correctness of the comparison: but as applied to an Union, the illustration might stand thus: The rich and intelligent Merchant fays to the poor and unskilful Merchant: Let us join in Name but keep our Interests separate; Let us live at a distance from each other; Let me allure your rich Customers into my Neighbourhood with the greatest part of the Riches and of the Specie which circulated in your Neighbourhood before, and which effentially contributed to your Comforts; Let me supply your Customers and enjoy all the Profits myself; Allow me to undersell you in your own markets, to monopolize all your Bufiness by overpowering you with my superior skill and Manufactures, and thereby driving you into Beggary, Ignorance, Idleness, and Famine: but you must pay a proportion of all my expences, whether the consequence of necessity or extravagance. Such a contract would not abfurdly express the partnership of an Union,

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This gentleman feems to fancy a certain charm in the word Union: He tells us that it implies a confolidation of Power, a reciprocity of Interests agricultural and commercial, a source of peace, industry, wealth and subordination. Such is the preamble to its character.

It reminds me of preambles to Acts of Parliament, when an Act is made to diminish or restrain the Liberty of the Press, the preamble to the Act runs thus: "An Act for better securing "the Liberty of the Press." When new Duties are laid upon the Importation of Tobacco, the preamble is, "An Act for extending the To-"bacco Trade."

But to illustrate this consolidation of Power, this reciprocity of Interests, &c. let me suppose two gentlemen farmers living not very remote from each other, one extremely rich, the other in humble circumstances; let me suppose the rich Man's ground better senced and secured against Trespasses; and that he can often annoy the other; his cattle being in better condition and better training, frequently overleap the bounds of the other, whose poorer and weaker cattle cannot trespass on him. He is a rich rogue, and bribes the Herdsmen and Shepherds of the other to assist him in his wrongs; the other remonstrates and complains, but he complains and remonstrates in vain; the rich man appeals to the other's servants bribed by

him: they decide against their employer, length the rich Man fays, my dear Sir, I am forry that there are so many mutual remonstrances and complaints amongst us. For Heaven's sake, let us consolidate our power, let us establish a source of peace, industry and wealth, let us bury our wrongs, and our complaints for ever. This can be eafily effected by forming on my ground a Council confisting of twenty of my retainers, and of three of your bribed shepherds; of these the majority shall decide, Can any thing be more equitable, or more conducive to your welfare? But first let me observe to you, that you must entirely abide by the decisions of this Council, and never entertain hopes of changing your State; the articles of the original Treaty shall from time to time be infringed, I mean, they shall be enlarged; but then all this will be done by the majority of the above Council, that is, my good friend, we will have an Union. and pour rate in mountainment of a blacked

This writer very familiarly talks of the Improvements in commerce and manufactures, agriculture, industry and civilization, which this Country must receive from an Union, but he omits to mention how these Blessings will be produced. He says there will be a greater Intercourse between both Nations.

There has indeed existed a long time between both Nations as complete an Intercourse at least as the Prosperity of Ireland required. But let us examine the nature of this encreased Intercourse. The number of Absentees so much, and so justly complained of already, will be encreased, i. e. Irishmen of property in encreased numbers, will convey that property to England; they may acquire civilization by a permanent residence in England, but we know from experience that they also acquire habits of indifference and contempt for Ireland in proportion to the length of their residence in England. The poor who require civilization most will remain at home, and what will be the change with respect to them.

The man of property who now resides amongst them, who dissues comforts around him, whose money is spent amongst his Tenantry, whose approbation encourages industry, whose frown deters from habits of idleness and sloth, whose table inspires sessivity and joy, whose example communicates cleanliness and decency, whose residence attaches him to his Tenantry, and his Tenantry to him, who gives employment even to their children, who adjusts their differences, and who alleviates their toils. He will remove to England with all these blessings in his train. He will leave a wide and dismal waste behind him. Is it by such a change, civilization, knowledge, industry, will spread amongst the lower orders?

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The writer alluded to familiarly asks; would not a man send his child to enjoy good company and to acquire good habits?—Do the opulent men of Ireland want such a schooling, for it is the opulent alone that will go to enjoy this blessed Society.

This gentleman lays a great stress on agricultural and commercial Improvements, to which an Union will give birth. Is it the humble and ignorant peafant rendered more ignorant and more humble by the Union, is it he that will learn those prodigious Improvements in agriculture, for he will then be the refident? Will he, abandoned by the fostering encouragement and instructions of the rich man, will he, half brutalized, learn superior Improvement from those causes of his degradation? Will the great man's agent, active alone in screwing and squeezing the Tenantry, unless where profuse and extravagant bribery silences his threats or checks his rapacity, will he be a more eligible neighbour than the Lord himself? will he be a more proper man to redrefs wrongs and relieve distress? Such will be the blessed result of the Union in producing increased Improvement in Agriculture.

But we are told there will be an equal Trade, that the commerce of Ireland at least will improve from an Union—yes; protecting Duties will be taken off, and the small restraint already laid

on the importation of English goods will be removed, thus there will be an encreased influx cf English manufactures into our ports, such an influx as will entirely crush our own infant Manufactures. English manufactures then entirely released from Duty, will become cheaper in our own Markets, and consequently more plentiful; and in this double way will operate against our own Trade, our own Manufactures, and our own Industry. Our Manufacturers will according to our learned Author be thus polished. Unfortunate sufferers! they feel but too forely the consequences of English importation into this Country already. If famine and beggary can polish, an Union will make them the most polished, refined gentlemen on earth. But to enter into this part of the subject a little more in detail, let . it be observed, that the soil of England and Ireland, their infular fituation, their climate, their temperature, their produce, and confequently their manufactures are very generally alike; where there is a shade of difference, it is for the most part in favor of Ireland. The prosperity of both Countries depends very materially on the Improvements of their Commerce at large, and most particularly of their own manufactures. From all these circumstances, it is pretty evident that the manufactures of both must be nearly of the same kind, and that there must be a jealousy and competition between them. It is therefore the interest of each country to allow no market to the goods of the other, if the manufactures goods of the fame kind

herself: it is also her policy to discourage in the other the manufactures which she herself produces, (this system is universally adopted by England, and whenever any able exertion has been made in the English or Irish Parliament to establish an arrangement inconsistent with her peculiar interests and trenching upon this system; she has with the most marked actimony inveighed against the innovation.) This double principle of discouragement and exclusion, which England so practically understands, and so successfully enforces, may be carried into essenti

- 1. By possessing a greater capital, for then she may sell every article cheap, for the collective profits upon all the articles, will, in consequence of her extensive capital rise upon the whole to a large amount: She can also purchase and construct the best machinery: She can buy the raw materials to the best advantage: She can afford a slow return, or, she can allow a more extensive credit and for a longer time to her customers and creditors. The capital of England possesses all these advantages over the capital of Ireland.
- 2. By conveying to herself mediately or directly the circulation of the specie and riches of the other country; for thus the capital of the other is diminished, which relatively considered is the same thing as if her own were encreased; her own capital also acquires what the capital of the other

loses, and thus she derives a double advantage from this circumstance. This plan is successfully practised by England, for a great part of our wealth is spent in England by our Absentees. An Union will immediately encrease their number to a most alarming degree, and this is one of the main reasons why England so zealously presses this measure: She expects the most solid commercial benefits from it, and if the measure is adopted she will not be disappointed.

- 3. By laying heavy duties upon Irish manufactured goods, and opening her ports freely, nay giving encouragement to the importation of the raw materials of Ireland; for in this way she discourages the industry of Ireland, and encourages Ireland to send her those materials which encrease the means of her own industry and wealth; England has carefully attended to this arrangement, the duties upon Irish manufactures imported into England are so heavy as to amount to a compleat prohibition; but the importation of wool into England is very freely encouraged: We have indeed a market for our linens in England, but this is a manufacture which England has not herself.
 - 4. By keeping the ports of Ireland open and free from duty to English manufactures, this is a measure which England has uniformly supported, for most of the manufactures of England r ty so light a duty when imported into Ireland, as to

have an excellent market in Ireland, and to bear down our manufactures of the same kind.

An Union will entirely remove duties of this kind, and annihilate our own manufactures, and yet one of the boafted advantages of an Union is an encrease of our trade and manufactures.

of Ireland, for then embarrassment and poverty will be more completely and universally dissused, and therefore the difficulties of manufacturing will be encreased. The taxes of Ireland are considerable compared with her means, they will be raised considerably higher by an Union to the serious and vast disadvantage of our manufactures. England by carrying an Union will attain two very material objects, she will relieve herself from a considerable portion of her national burdens, and she will injure the manufactures of Ireland, and consequently procure a more extensive sale for her own.

Thus I think it is pretty evident, that most of our commercial arrangements have been for England and against Ireland, and that all the consequences of an Union tend directly to encrease the commercial prosperity of England, and to diminish that of Ireland. And yet our learned Author sees rays of commercial happiness issuing from an an Union at every point.

In confidering duties laid upon imports, it is obvious, that according to the quality of the imported goods, increased duties might be useful or injurious to Ireland. Let me for instance suppose that English woollen cloths enter into competition with Irish woollens, it is evident that if a heavy duty were laid upon English woollens imported into Ireland, it would ferve Ireland materially by protecting her own woollen manufacture. Wines imported into Ireland have no competition in Ireland; we have no wines of our own produce, but wines are an article of very universal, and upon many occasions of very useful confumption, it would therefore be our advantage to have wines imported without duty altogether, or with only a fmall duty. But how will those duties be regulated by an Union? The duty on wines will certainly be increased, the duty on English imports will be diminished, or perhaps entirely taken off; we may then indeed exclaim, "We have done " what we ought not to have done, and left un-"done what we ought to have done."

But it is said; the English market will be thrown open to Ireland, let us contend with them in their own market, Yes, we may walk about their markets, we may admire the vast extent of their capitals, their great sobriety and industry, and the elegance and perfection of their manufactures, but we shall not sell Irish goods there. What can the poor manufacture of the poor Irish capital effect in the English market against English men, English industry, English improvements, English jealousy, and English capital.

I shall be charged with presumption in anticipating the arrangements which an Union will eftablish. How dare I affert, how can I know, that this will be the general complexion which the commercial and agricultural features of the Union will take. I reply, fuch has been the complexion of the arrangements between England and Ireland in duties on Manufactures as far as they have gone; and no man can doubt of the effects, which Agriculture must feel from increasing the number of our Absentees. Such are also the general effects of the Scottish Union. I answer too, if we calmly listen to the proposal of an Union, and fuffer its principle to be adopted, it will be too late to express disapprobation of its conditions, for whatever may be its features, the measure will certainly be carried.

The great Swift advises Ireland to burn every thing which comes from England but her Coals, and to throw them into the sea. I should be forry this advice was adopted without exception, for then, our learned author might be in danger of adding to the suel.

Our Author glides smoothly over enereased taxes, the immediate and obvious consequences

of an Union, he does not consider them a grievance, but is persuaded that the value of land will sife considerably; the preceding observations on the influence of an Union, upon the industry and manusactures of the Country, are an answer to this affertion. The effects of encreased taxes will further operate against the landed property. That incomparable politician Adam Smith, maintains, that the encreased price of labour and industry of every kind, the encreased price of articles of consumption, wine &c. arising from encreased taxes will ultimately fall heavy upon landed property.

Mr. Smith a Briton himself, wishes there were an Union between Ireland and England, but one of his principal arguments is in order that Ireland, may bear a proper share of the common burdens. Such too would be found the reasoning of our Author, if he were to deliver his fentiments freely, but there are few Irishmen to whom these arguments would make an Urion palatable. Learned and ingenious as our Author is, he could not easily persuade an Irish Gentleman, that it would be his interest to pay feven shillings, rather than three shillings for a bottle of claret; that it would be his interest to pay eight guineas, rather than four guineas yearly for the expense of dreffing his hair; that it would be his interest to pay a duty upon his hat, upon his gloves, that it would be his interest to pay a tax for his horses, his dogs, his servants, and his windows, that it would be his interest to have an Union which will raise to eight hundred pounds a year, that domestic establishment, which now without the Union costs him but five hundred pounds a year. That it would be his interest rather to be taxed by an Englishman, than by an Irishman, an Englishman who knows nothing about him, who cares nothing about him, who from habit and illiberal prejudice despises, perhaps hates him, and who is only solicitous to relieve himself by throwing a considerable portion of his burdens on the shoulders of the Irishman.

Will the confideration of effects like these, (for these will be the effects of an Union) induce the Irish Gentleman to convey his independence into the hands of an Englishman for ever.

The prosperity of Scotland is a topic of general exultation with our author, and a proof how much an Union served that country. Circumstances existed at the time of the Scottish Union which possibly made such a measure necessary. This subject is ably stated in an ingenious pamphlet written by Mr. Spencer, to which I refer the reader. Ireland within those twenty years has prospered more without an Union, than Scotland has since the Union; Ireland twenty years ago was not as

prosperous as Scotland before the Union, but the commerce and wealth of Ireland is at least equal to that of Scotland at present. The peasantry in Scotland notwithstanding their sobriety and industry (of which they have a large share) are in general very poor. The fine feats there are for the most part inhabited by agents and shepherds. Had the peafantry and manufacturers of Ireland the fobriety, the skill and the industry which those ' of Scotland have, Ireland in spight of all her disadvantages, would foon be one of the richest Countries on the Globe. There is certainly a very general complaint against the Union in Scotland and the poverty of that country is by many ascribed to it. Our learned author himself acknowledges that we have those twenty years had the experience of national encrease in population, advancements in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth, and in prosperity; and he says, that it is univerfally admitted no country in the World ever made fuch rapid advances as Ireland has done in these respects. What? Has Ireland been prosperous in fo superior a degree those twenty years. and that without an Union, more prosperous than Scotland itself which had the ample bleffings of an Union? Pray, kind Sir! Would it not be madness in Ireland, in this career of prosperity. in these rapid and diffusive improvements in agriculture, population, wealth, and commerce; would it not be madness to risk a great and sudden change by adopting an Union? But our ingenious

author fays—yet her prosperity has been of no avail—indeed—no, for discontent, discord, conspiracy and rebellion, have shot up with our prosperity.—What then is the obvious remedy? Does it not appear to be the destruction of our population, our commerce, our agriculture, our manufactures, and our wealth; for he tells us they have been of no avail; they have only brought discontent, discord, conspiracy, and rebellion in their train: and indeed the gentleman recommends a remedy fully adequate to such a method of cure: he strenuously urges an Union.

Our author knows that within these sew years far other causes than the want of an Union, have produced treasons, discontents, conspiracies and rebellion, not only in Ireland, but over the sace of civilized Europe, indeed over the fairest and most extensive parts of the Globe.

He tells us Edinburgh has not been injured by an Union. I am not quite old enough to remember what Edinburgh was before an Union, but this I have no helitation in afferting, that Edinburgh compared with Dublin now, is a very poor town. It has but a poor trade oven including Leith harbour, and but a very flender circulation of money. Does our ingenious author know that the numerous poor refidents of that Town, confider the refort of medical fludents one of the greatest fources of their support, and particularly

the refort of Irish students, because these, perhaps, are the most numerous class of that description, though the inhabitants are fure to hate the Irish almost as cordially as the gentleman himself. Perhaps an Union between Ireland and England would diffipate this hatred of the Scotch.-Solamen miseris socios habere doloris.—House rent indeed is very cheap in Edinburgh; you will get as good a house there for fifty guineas a year, as you will in Dublin for an hundred guineas a year, this cheapnels is certainly one of the confequences. of the Scottish Union; and if an Union takes place here, the houses of Dublin will be every atom as cheap a change the Linds the total as

ia contended of the greater population Our kind author encourages Dublin to Support an Union, because (he tells her) there will be Canals diverging from her to all the internal parts of Ireland, and she will therefore enjoy the monopoly of the corn trade. But observe, fir, that in holding forth this monopoly to Dublin, you tell the rest of Ireland they lose by the monopoly, nay you tell them they lose a fair trade, because every monopoly is an invasion of a general bleffing; and confidered as a measure of national arrangement it throws into the hands of a few what belongs to the many; therefore it is an act of glaring injustice. Sometimes indeed a monopoly might perhaps be necessary in trading between remote Nations jealous and ignorant of each other; but are Week to her on hiD & T . noth to her water

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there can be no fuch reason why Dublin should monopolize a trade which fairly belongs to Ireland at large.

But I had nearly forgot; our author in speaking of this monopoly speaks also of an Union, and actually seems to think that the situation of Dublin and the course of our canals depend upon an Union: but fir, let me remind you, that the course of the canals and the local fituation of Dublin are exactly the fame that they would be after an Union. These blessings then which you promise Dublin after an Union, Dublin happens to possess before and without an Union, and I think in ahigher degree, because in consequence of the greater population and prosperity of Dublin at present than after the Union, it is more than probable the receives more corn at present than she would after the Union either for the purposes of consumption or export. But he reasons thus not to shew Dublin that these advantages will arise from an Union, but that an Union cannot destroy them. Yes, he comforts Dublin with the hope that a fhred of her former prosperity will remain.

Cork we are affured will grow immensely rich in consequence of this Union. But why Cork? Because she faces the Channel and has an excellent harbour. But surely Cork has as free a power of trading to all parts of the Globe now as she will after the Union. There is no part of the World to which she is not allowed to trade except to the

East: she is not allowed to enjoy the commerce of India nor of China: England herself is not permitted to enjoy this trade: It is confined to a trading company in England: It will be confined to them after the Union. Perhaps two outward-bound Indiamen, instead of one, might be ordered to touch at Cork. Bleffed confequences of an Union! We may perhaps have teas fomewhat cheaper; these are an article of general confumption, and therefore a reduction in their price would be very defirable. But we have no data from which we may infer that we shall experience a reduction even in the price of this delicious poifon. Speak out good fir. In congratulating Cork on the prospect of superior wealth and commerce to be expected from an Union, do you not mean that, in consequence of her local fituation, she will be a store-house for English imports; do you not congratulate her upon the probability of her favouring and multiplying the causes of idleness and mifery to the Irish manufacturer: Such would be your reasoning if you spoke the language of your heart. In mentioning the harbour of Cork he is more candid. He fays that in consequence of the extent of the British navy, a new Station is much wanted; and that the harbour of Cork is well adapted to her purpose, and that a dock-yard might be built there-very well. In the name of God then let the Navy use that harbour. It is now as compleatly open to the British Navy as it could be after an Union. But, fays our author,

allow an Union and perhaps the British navy will be fent there. Is an Union the fine qua non. Observe how the question stands. The English are distressed for an harbour for their navy. Cork is exactly that harbour. It would be of important advantage to the English to send their navy there. It would materially ferve Ireland also: and vet the English will not send any part of their navy to the harbour of Cork unless Ireland submits to an Union; that is, England is better pleafed to fuffer a fevere inconvenience herfelf, than to remove the inconvenience as that removal would ferve Ireland. Ireland cannot expect this favor from England, but at the price of an Union, though, he confesses England would profit by the concession. This is true English liberality. It is that liberality which fprings from the habits and fentiments of this writer, woomi dilential algorismal medition.

He informs us that Cork has an excellent harbour for men of war to refort to for the protection of the Island and its commerce; that it is also the emporium of provisions for the British navy, and a place for all homeward-bound convoys in time of war, when the channel might be dangerous to approach,—But, wise and learned fir, Cork is just now all this as effectually and compleatly as she would be so after an Union.

He tells us Limerick and Waterford would not be particularly affected except in proportion as an Union, by inducing the extension of trade should naturally augment their commercial exertions.

State the propositions thus—

Limerick and Waterford would not be particularly affected except in proportion as an Union by an inundation of English manufactures, by the diminution of Irish capital, and by crippling our own manufactures should naturally paralyze their commercial exertions.

the voic of Irith capital in an Union and that We are told that English capitals will be brought to Ireland after the Union because labour is cheaper here than in England. Why then have not English capitals been transferred to Ireland at any time before the Union? Has not labour been and is it not now cheaper than it will be after the Union? Encreased taxes the immediate companions of the Union will make the necessaries of Life, and therefore will make labour of every kind dearer . The inducement arising from cheapness of labour therefore existed more in favor of English capitals, in this country before, than it can exist after the Union of English goods will be imported in greater quantity and cheaper into this country after than they have been before the Union, because the Protecting Duties will be temoved; confequently the relident manufacturer must then fell his goods cheaper, what is, the refident capitals in Ireland will for these two reasons bring less profits after the Union than they would

have brought before the Union; and yet we are confidently told that, after the Union, the Englishman will bring his capital amongst us, though he will not before the Union, when these causes did not exist, and when of course his profits would be higher.

I can perceive no greater encouragement that an Union can offer the Englishman for transferring his capital to Ireland; unless it be, that he foresees the ruin of Irish capital in an Union, and that therefore, he will have less Irish manufacture to contend with in the Irish market.

Our author observes that Ireland, independent Ireland, has at this moment her commerce in all parts of the world protected without expence by the British navy. Her country is protected by British troops from foreign and domestic enemies, -but furely he does not forget that Irish troops also form a part of our protection, and that Irishmen make a very confiderable part of the failors and marines of the British navy; but allowing the full force of this observation, it amounts to this: that Ireland has her commerce, her extensive commerce protected; her country defended from foreign enemies; her internal tranquillity fecured against domestic enemies: she also possesses independence. What more can an Union effect? Or suppose an Union settled, will not our commerce be protected, our Country be protected

from foreign and domestic enemies by sleets and armies; Will the Union point out a new mode of protection?

He very kindly defires us to restore to Ireland good humour, and tranquillity, and comfort and security; her sugitives will soon return. He certainly infinuates, though he does not directly venture to avow it, that all this will be effected by an Union.

Would not the proposition be stated much more fairly in this manner?

Wrest from Ireland good humour, tranquillity, comfort, security; her sugitives will encrease in numbers, her miseries will encrease, her turbulence will encrease, her rebellious spirit will encrease: The enemies hopes of invading the country with success will encrease; because her discontents and distractions and poverty and idleness and vices will encrease.

He fays let these Countries be united, and Ireland will be gradually rising to the level of England, or England gradually sinking to the level of Ireland. And he says this as gravely as if he believed one syllable of it; but I will take the liberty of putting it into the following shape.—Let these countries be united, and Ireland will be not gradually but rapidly sinking beneath her own level, and England rising upon her ruins.

Our author delivers his propositions, as self-evident, and draws his inference as if it naturally sprung from these obvious propositions. But the truth is, his inferences were first prepared, and he then sought for the most plausible premises from which such a conclusion might follow. His conclusion was first shaped to his views, and then his premises moulded and modelled to fit his conclusion.

Another of his self-evident propositions is; an Union has this advantage; it may be our falvation, it cannot be our ruin.

By a little alteration the proposition might stand thus:—An Union has this disadvantage, it may be our ruin, it cannot be our falvation!

This gentleman plays off with great dexterity a very serious objection to an Union: the objection is; An Union must be our ruin or destruction! All we want is a good steady Administration wisely and sirmly conducted, at I then all will go well. This proposition is to my humble capacity very intelligible: he however affects to be perplexed about the meaning of a firm and steady Administration. Does the good man consider such an Administration a chimera? Does he now grown old in the trade of Parliament; Does he in vain seek to find in his own Parliamentary habits an explanation of such an Administration? Does

his own experience fail to help him out? Does he confider it such an Administration as never will, as never can exist, where he has any influence?" Were he to look to the Administration of Lord C-nw-s, I think he would find fomething of the above description, viz, a wife and firm administration. That good man, and great man, because a good man has the blessings of the Irish Nation, a few perhaps like the learned writer himself excepted. Is our author assonished that the faviour of the Irish nation differs so widely from the example of other Englishmen who come amongst us, whose gratitude it is to hate the Irish in proportion as they eat of our bread and fatten upon our foil. The tranquillity and fecurity which the Administration of this excellent man produced, until an Union began to be agitated. proves to demonstration, that in the present state of our Legislature, all would go well if we had a wife and firm Administration.

This writer tells us that, the conspiracies, the insurrections, the rebellions which have disgraced us, proclaim our defects in civilization and policy. I lament that in many instances this observation is true, but some of the most polished parts of Europe have within these sew years been equally disfigured: nor would it be a difficult matter to prove, that most of these missortunes have often sprung from the reverse of a wise and firm administration. But what

remedy does he recommend? An Union. An Union will produce tranquillity, fecurity, commercial and agricultural advantages. Let us examine how these advantages follow. If fuch bleffings can exist as the effect of an Union, they must spring from the improved flate of the peasants and artificers, the two great classes of the Irish poor. By the encrease of absentees the peasant becomes more poor, more idle, more ignorant, more vicious, more drunken, (for drunkenness is the refuge of the idle and the wretched.) The restraint of the greatman's presence is removed, his affistance and encouragement are removed. These causes render the peafant a fitter instrument of rebellion, and more fanguinary and ferocious when he engages in it. Before the rebellion, it was generally and loudly afferted, and afferted with truth, that the rebellious spirit which broke forth in acts of robbery and murder, would have been more compleatly suppressed, if the gentlemen were to live at home, and carefully watch over · and attend to the state of their tenantry. Thus the Union is pregnant with those causes which drive the peafant into rebellion. The fame reasoning applies to the manufacturer, with this difference, that he will be more compleatly miferable than the peafant, all his refources perish. He will have nothing to do, but to think of ways and means of robbery and rapine. It has been observed in the progress of

the rebellion, that the greatest atrocities were perpetrated by the poorest, and that their leaders frequently endeavoured to restrain their sury. What alarming consequences are then, not to be feared from a measure, which may have the tendency of making the lower classes more miserable, more ferocious, more rebellious, more sanguinary.

In recommending an Union to the landed gentlemen, our Author fays-If an Union would produce more tranquillity, fecurity, commercial and agricultural advantages, estates would be proportionably benefited. He allows himself an excellent falvo in his-if-. Will he permit me to state the proposition thus? If an Union would produce discontents, disaffection, turbulence, the ruin of agricultural and commercial advantages, estates would be proportionably injured. This gentleman talks of an Union, as if it could mechanically impel Ireland towards England. But furely we at present see the superior advantages of improved commerce and agriculture in England, as clearly as we could fee them after the Union. Many of the most opulent Irish see them often, perhaps every feafon; these frequently return to their native foil, after fome refidence in England, and upon their return must they not perceive the necessity and room there is for improvement; and the consequence has been that in many instances improvement is happily

going forward. But after the Union, it is true, great numbers of the opulent Irish will go to England, but they will remain there and neither fee nor feel the necessity of improvement at home. From not feeing their estates they will lofe fight of improvement, from not mixing with nor feeing their tenantry, they will become perfectly indifferent about their fituation. A wealthy man refiding for a length of time in any one place, acquires a knowledge of the poor around him. He learns to take an interest in their misery and to relieve it, gratitude for his kindness and perhaps hopes of greater kindness attach the poor to him, and thus is formed a fource of much friendship and esteem. If they are his tenants the bonds of friendship and union, are drawn more closely, for then his profit cooperates with his feelings, in making him enter more intimately into their fituation, and endeavour to improve it. They are anxious to improve his estate, to shew their gratitude. They firive to avoid bad and vicious habits, and to cultivate those of honesty and industry, to court his approbation. Experience foon convinces them, that they are adopting the steps, and pursuing the means which ensure their own comforts in labouring to please their Lord. And our Countrymen who vifit foreign climes, and foreigners who refide amongst us, acknowledge that in the generous and benevolent qualities of the heart, no nation on earth stand

more eminently distinguished than the Irish; what a pity that the best methods are not resorted to, for improving and directing those excellent qualities. But alas! instead of amelioration, what a dismal gloom will succeed to the fair sunshine of the greatman's presence? We may exclaim in the language of Sterne, O Absentees! Absentees! what have you not to answer for.

It is truly observed that humanity and allthe other amiable virtues of the heart, are most
successfully cultivated in high life, by a familiar
intercourse with those in the industrious, and
humble paths of it; and that all the qualities
which contribute to instruct, to edify and improve the lower classes, are best acquired by
mixing with those of superior rank, particularly
if honest and virtuous. It is the nature of example to descend. The universal and irresistible principle of imitation, sixes the attention
of the poor man upon the rich, and tinges his
conduct with the rich man's vices and follies, or
purifies it by an imitation of his virtues.

Our Author asks, what can an Irish patriot wish for his country, but that its inhabitants should attain the same habits and improvements which makes England the envy of Europe?—
I entirely agree with him, I believe the most sanguine wishes of an Irish patriot would extend

no farther. But then he proceeds to ask, by what means can he hope to attain that end fo effectually as by an Union .- I reply by the following supposition.-Ireland and England enjoy independent legislatures; suppose it were proposed that Britain should form an Union with Ireland, that the court should reside permanently in Ireland, that consequently many of the most opulent inhabitants of Britain, were to fix themselves in Ireland, that a vast portion of the commerce of England were transferred to Ireland, and that this proposal were gravely laid before the British parliament. Let me ask this gentleman, how would it be received? Would any arguments or any confideration for the benefits of the empire reconcile the British nation to it? Would it not be treated as an impracticable and extravagant proposal, calculated to destroy the happiness of the British nation? and yet such a change would certainly prove profitable to Ireland. Thus indeed would be accomplished the wishes of the Irish patriot. It is thus that the intercourse between both countries, would produce the most fubstantial bleffings to Ireland. It is thus that Englishmen of wealth and industry mixing amongst us, would effect those happy improvements which our learned author augurs from that Union, which will lay waste some of the fairest parts of our land, and which will transport for ever our money and industry to a

foreign foil. If the above importation of British wealth, refidence and industry would ferve Ireland materially, is it not very clear that the oppofite cause must most materially injure her. Would Ireland profit by an influx of English money, English industry, and English manners; and shall she not be ruined by having manners, industry, and money torn from her bosom and transplanted to England never to return.

Our author enters at great length into the more folid fecurity which an Union will procure for the Church Establishment in Ireland, and for the connection between England and Ireland.

Every thinking man in both Countries knows that the united operations of England and Ireland can be, and actually are brought into action as effectually now as they could be after an Union, either for fecuring the establishment or maintaining the connection; and the gentleman himself proves this in one of his propositions. In order to intimidate the Ecclefiaftics, he lays great stress upon theory and speculation, against practice, and fays,—the Irish Parliament is independent, it might subvert the establishment.-Here he loses fight entirely of the conduct of the Irish Parliament, of the great patronage of the Crown in Irish Boroughs, of the influence of the British Cabinet in the Irish Parliament, and of the King's negative; that is, he lofes fight of practice, of selection of the land of the l

facts, of Constitution, and of experience, and relies on the importance of empty and partly of false theory! He examines the arrangements made for the different descriptions of Religionists in Ireland: he widens the breach between them all by shewing the necessity that subsists for their rancorous and illiberal fufpicions and perfecutions of each other; he tears them afunder; he fays the Catholics were most peaceable when they were most miserable; he reforts to the system of splitting and commanding; and then with the most gracious kindness he harmonizes them into a truly charitable understanding with each other, by recommending an Union! He tells you that harmony and happiness amongst Irishmen were his only object, and that he recommended an Union merely because he considered it the most successful means of attaining both!

As to the investigation of party questions I am as reluctant to enter into the confideration of them as this gentleman can be. He tells us of factions and differtions springing up in Ireland from the opposition in England.—Factions indeed and Divisions have been by repeated and glaring artifices long supported in this Country, shamefully and inhumanly supported for the vilest of purposes! Ireland has been split and divided into hostile factions in order to prepare her for an Union! and then these hostilities, and their melancholy consequences are urged as inducements to an Union by this Gentleman, and will be urged

by fwarms of others actuated by the same honor and impelled by the same motives. Good God! are Irishmen so infatuated as to be imposed upon by artifices so gross, by motives so corrupt?

We are told that by proper attention to the Articles of the Union, we may be effectually secured against the unreasonable load of Taxes which we apprehend; but to whom shall we appeal for redress if the Union be violated? certainly to the British Parliament, that is to the very persons who infringe the Union we will appeal for redrefs from their own injustice. The Scottish Union has been repeatedly violated, and the complaints of the Scotch met with no redress. The violation of the Scotch Union shall be brought into precedent, and the Scottish representatives will make a party against us. The minister will contrive to be asked, What, has not this been done with refpect to Scotland, and will it not be done with respect to Ireland? Will the whole Scottish Nation be infulted by shewing a decided preference in favor of Ireland? Will the Irish Union be respected and the Scottish Union infringed? Will not the necessities of the State be an ample apology for the infringement? Does our learned author imagine that new burthens will be laid on England and Scotland, and not on Ireland? This would indeed be surpassing the Christian principle of focial benevolence; it would be loving their neighbours not as themselves, but better than

themselves; a principle in which the English certainly do not excel all other Nations.

Courts of Justice will be made to the Lords of England, a circumstance which must materially affect the purity of Justice. In the prosecution of legal redress it will give the rich man an advantage over the poor man. The rich man secure in the resources of his wealth, will right or wrong boldly appeal; he knows the poor man cannot appeal, he cannot afford to live perhaps several months in England, he cannot desray the expences of a tedious suit; thus the rich man is encouraged in his oppression of the poor man, a grievance which alone should excite unanimous opposition to the measure.

Our author speaks of the resistance which the question of an Union must encounter from the Barristers, though in the same breath he tells them it will contribute much to the extent of their professional knowledge! He warms upon this occasion and calls them a phalanx, adventurers, perfons ready to bring their abilities to market! In general he uses the language and manners of a gentleman; but in addressing himself to the Lawyers, his usual decency forsakes him: he gets into epithets illiberal as they are unusual with him. He foresees opposition from them against his favorite measure! But why anticipate opposition from

them, for he tells them they will not fuffer professionally from an Union! He tells them that English Barristers are in the state in which Irish Barristers shall be after the Union. Why then does he express so much alarm from the resistance of the Bar? Does he fear the great collective wisdom and learning of that respectable body? Does he fear their independent spirit, their great legal and conftitutional knowledge. Volumes could not more clearly express his genuine fentiments of an Union. He addresses to the Lawyers the argumentum ad crumenam which he finds fo often fuccessful. He comforts them with the affurance that all their places of emolument will remain, and even then he cannot divest himself of apprehension. If he had thought the measure useful to Ireland, would he have taken all these pains, would he have expressed all these terrors?

Our author was not mistaken. The almost unanimous opposition of that body, but too strongly proclaimed the justness of his sears.

The Minister chooses a moment for urging this measure when the public mind is so agitated, as to be scarcely able to consider any question dispassionately. He chooses a time for it when many of our people harrassed by civil dissentions would gladly grasp at any thing which promises peace, however treacherous or fallacious the means; therefore it is that our learned author dwells so

firenuously on the tranquillity which he afferts must attend an Union; and yet he is asraid the Union may breed disturbance. He says—if it is to be decided by passion or by sorce, there is no mischief which the agitation of the question may not produce. What does the gentleman mean by sorce? Is the Minister prepared to have recourse to sorce; or does he sear that the Irish Nation will resort to sorce in order to prevent it. I hope the Minister will not push the experiment. Our author recommends to consider it calmly: he knows that it is only by a spirited, unanimous and early resistance it can be deseated: he therefore recommends that apathy which ensures its success.

We are told that many of the manufacturing towns in England are against an Union from a conviction of its great utility to Ireland and consequent injury to England. I should not indeed be surprised if the Minister were to procure and encourage strong remonstrances and petitions against an Union from many parts of England, particularly from the manufacturing parts of it. Such a conduct is not inconfiftent with the man who vigorously opposes the Slave Trade, but takes care that his opposition is frustrated. Petitions like these may display an appearance of opposition from England against an Union, on the ground of its great utility to Ireland, and therefore may hold forth a ftrong recommendation to the measure in this Country; and he kind foul,

will persevere in pressing a measure fraught with such happiness for his favorite Irish, notwithstanding any opposition from England: He will also expend, or perhaps has already expended upwards of a Million of English Money, in order to procure, by means of bribery, a support for this measure; All for the good of Ireland!

Quirquid id est timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.

We are told that the French nation with fire and fword forces freedom upon its favorites, and that if they are such blockheads as to resule the favor, the French will butcher one half of them in order to make the other half siee! Is our excellent Minister prepared to imitate the example? Will he force upon the Irish the measure of an Union, though they loudly declare against it?

Some affert that the Catholics throughout the Kingdom are advocates for an Union, because it will pull down the rest of their Fellow-Subjects to the same level with themselves, and this language is used as an argument in savor of an Union. This indeed is arguing on new ground. I have known instances where the wishes of the Catholics in savor of a measure have been urged as arguments for its rejection. But as to the affertion I deny it, positively deny it. From extensive habits of intimacy with Catholics I can affirm the contrary. I never heard one of them speak of an Union but with marked disapprobation; however to exa-

mine a little the fentiments of that great, that respectable, that much calumniated class of his Majesty's subjects: We know that in 94, they were promised Emancipation; it was expected that as a return of gratitude they would acquiesce in an Union? In 95, the scene was shifted and they were frustrated in their hopes of independence; they were not then to expect Emancipation but on condition that they would declare for an Union; that is, an Union was made the indifpensable purchase of their Emancipation. How did the Catholics then act? They firmly and generously declared they would oppose their own Emancipation if an Union were to be the price. And yet in 98, the Catholics are charged with fupporting an Union from the most illiberal and malignant motives! Such is the cruel conclusion drawn from their noble, their unparalleled generofity.

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A PAMPHLET has lately appeared with the Signature of Mr. Mc. KENNA, in which the principle of uniting the British and Irish Legislatures is highly commended.

This writer principally dwells on the destructive fystem of forming Associations, founded not upon political but religious distinctions. far as the Pamphlet bears upon that question it has my most decided approbation. The national distraction which must spring from such Associations though formed by men of the most excellent characters, must appear obvious to every reflect-A fystem whose most prominent feaing mind. ture is exclusion, whose essence and substance confist in establishing and supporting the domination of one religious description of Subjects over all others, and in openly proclaiming the hostillity of their fentiments by tests of exclusion, cannot be favourable to the great ends of focial happiness or national elevation. Such a system by felfish illiberality and feeble insolence of Power may exasperate, may divide and weaken. never can be the fource of love, strength, happiness, or greatness. The members of these Associations exclaim that they only make a diffinction between the loyal and disaffected, between the constitutional subject and the rebel, and yet their Test excludes the Catholic; does not this clearly fhew that they confider Catholic and Rebel as fynonymous terms, and that they equally stigmatize them both. The minister of England and the other advocates for an Union are rejoiced to perceive such a division amongst IRISHMEN. Every instrument which has a tendency to encrease that division gives them peculiar sarisfaction: They would gladly improve the Orange System of splitting and enfeebling throughout the whole Island; and through such a successful medium of distraction they would reduce all the Inhabitants of this Land into two equally balanced hostile factions—Hos Ithusus velit & magno mer-centur Atridæ—If the members of these Associations only make (as they profess) a distinction between the loyal and disaffected, let their old Test be abolished, and a new one formed that shall bear no traces of religious rancour or bi-By fuch a change might be established a formidable refiftance to the Union in confequence of the harmony and understanding which it would effect amongst all descriptions of Irishmen. Protestant, Dissenter, and Catholic would then meet. aftonished that the artifice or profligacy of any

man had torn afunder those whom Nature and Reason so long endeavoured, but endeavoured alas, in vain to unite.

The writer of the above Pamphlet turns the fystem of Orange Lodges into an argument for an Union; he intimates that such Associations will perish after an Union, and he seems to dwell on the national mischief which they produce in order to display the blessings of that Union which must prove fatal to their existence.

The writer infinuates that the energy of the Empire might be augmented by simplifying its Constitution, surely to simplify is not always to improve. The most simple of all Constitutions is that of an unqualified absolute Monarchy, but I fancy his Eulogium will not go quite so far as to raise it above all other forms of Government.

He tells us that it is proposed to tranquillize Ireland by removing a great domestic cause of irritation.—I wish he would have condescended to inform us what cause of irritation an Union would remove. Does the cause of irritation consist in having our own Parliament, a rapidly encreasing Prosperity since that Parliament was made free, the circulation of a great share of Wealth amongst us, a Commerce advancing with such giant strides as to awaken all the selfish jealousy of England,

and the residence of a great majority of our men of property and of riches. If all these are this cause of domestic irritation, an Union will remove it indeed.

He supposes Governments erected upon every ten square miles of Europe, and then with a triumphant display of eloquence, with polished and sounding periods (every one concluded with a long note of admiration) he tells us, what a melancholy group of forry Governments they would make, particularly if they were always cutting each others throats from ear to ear; this however he intends only as a pleasing digression to relieve us from the immense satigue of having waded through two pages of his Pamphlet certainly not incumbered with much argument.

But least this digression should pals for reasoning in support of an Union, I will reply to it in the animated language of Mr. Gould at the Bar meeting—" With as many advantages as ancient "Sicily ever possessed we have to plead for us the encreased and encreasing light of human nature, the uncalculated and incalculable strides of the human understanding. In this Country we have as grateful a Soil, as temperate a Climate, as convenient Ports, and as safe Harbours as ever Sicily possessed. We have a more hardy and a more sturdy race of Inhabitants, and we have that which is paramount to

" them all; without which these advantages are " but as fo many temptations to ruin; we have " an intellectual mind devoted to the cause of " Liberty and Independence.—It is impossible " then that the most profligate Minister that ever " existed can succeed in making us a province of " any Country. With a population of near five " Millions of People; with a Territory of confi-" derable extent; with the most convenient Ports " and Harbours in the habitable World; with a " brave and hardy race of Inhabitants; with a " benignity of Climate and fertility of Soil, de-" monstrated by every Hour of our Existence, " and every inch of our Territory, it is impossi-" ble that we were in the distribution of Nature " intended as a Province. Travel from North " to South; from East to West; you will see the " bounties of Providence, I want not the affift-" ance of Divine inspiration to foretel, I am " enabled by the vifible and unerring demonstra-" tions of Nature to affert that Ireland was del-" tined to be an independent Nation. Our Pa-" tent to be a State and not a Shire comes direct " from Heaven. The Almighty has in majestic " characters figned the grand Charter of our In-" dependence. The great Creator of the World " has given unto our beloved Country the gigan-" tic outlines of a Kingdom and not the pigmy " features of a Province. God and Nature I say " never intended that Ireland should be a Pro-" vince, and by G- she never shall."-Here

stands a reply to the fancied pitiful Governments of ten square Miles throughout Europe.-This writer affures us that it would materially ferve Ireland to be incumbered with the Taxes of England, if there were danger of a Bankruptcy in England; but immediately after he fays there is not the finallest danger of such a Bankruptcy. He tells us with a smile, that it is a mere fiction of the Imagination—and thus he removes the only cause which he himself acknowledges would make an additional weight of Taxes a Bleffing to Ireland: It is idle therefore to recommend an encrease of Taxes to Ireland as a source of Prosperity, because he tells us that the reason which would make them fuch, is imaginary. Indeed it is not easy to demonstrate how an additional weight of Taxes would contribute to the Prosperity of Ireland. Encreased Taxes are injurious not only by wresting a quantity of Wealth from a Nation's industry, and by destroying Manufactures in consequence of the diminished national Capital; but they have also a tendency to substitute idleness for industry; intrigue, corruption and fycophancy, for honest exertion and fair dealing. By multiplying the objects of Taxation the number of Tax-gatherers will be augmented. Multisudes before employed in useful Speculation and Industry, will now be obliged to drop the business of their respective calling, from the difficulty of paying the Taxes incident to it (of this we have lately feen inflances in the additional Duty

upon Newspapers). There is besides a prospect now opened of being supported by the idle occupation of Revenue collection, and thus is held forth a double inducement to Idleness.

Persons employed in any kind of useful industry find that "honesty is the best policy." It is to Public Approbation and Confidence they are to look for Encouragement and Profit. This will give a cast to their moral character. It will make them honest, sober, diligent, generous, and obliging. On this subject I appeal to the experience of any man acquainted with Dublin. any part of the Globe any description of men more eminently diffinguished for these excellent qualities than the Mercantile and industrious Class of the Citizens of Dublin. But Tax-collectors feel their prospect of promotion arise, not from Public Approbation (their employment is in a channel which reftrains and injures Public Profperity); their expectations and reliance are directed to some Man of Power and Influence; their morals will therefore receive a complexion from those habits of fervility and adulation, from that fmile, and grin, and bow; from that infincerity which will tell any thing and every thing; and from those merry tales of scandal and detraction and falshood, which may gratify the curiosity, amuse the leifure, or feed the vanity of the great Man.

I trust the people of Ireland will meet an Union with that firmness and unanimity which the weight of influence that supports it requires, and with that marked reprobation which its principle merits; and that they will never furrender their Independence, their Manufactures, their Wealth and their Happiness, in a manner which would destroy them for ever-

give a caff to their moved character. It will mist a

them honeft, fobers diligetin, efficiencie, and obliging. On this Robert Repeal to the experience observanta acquained with Dublia. Is there on abrespair of the Giller Certificien of men mone emineatly diff of thee Civizens of L. Hame Louis Tax-collectors reel their profined of monthling arife, not from Public Approbation (their employment is in a channel which reflering and in ones I utilic Profinebolding some F I'N I S. Source tieds ; (with to fome Man of Power and Lillience; their morals will therefore receive a conplexion from these habits of fervilley and adulation, from that fmile and grid; and bow; from that inducatity which will rell and thing and every thing, and from those along take of foundal and defined and followed, will be may gradly the cui loffice, anule The Manager of the visit of the great Manager